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● 301

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[FACING P. 3]

[FRONTISPIECE]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958

OI20 Tiwi OI20

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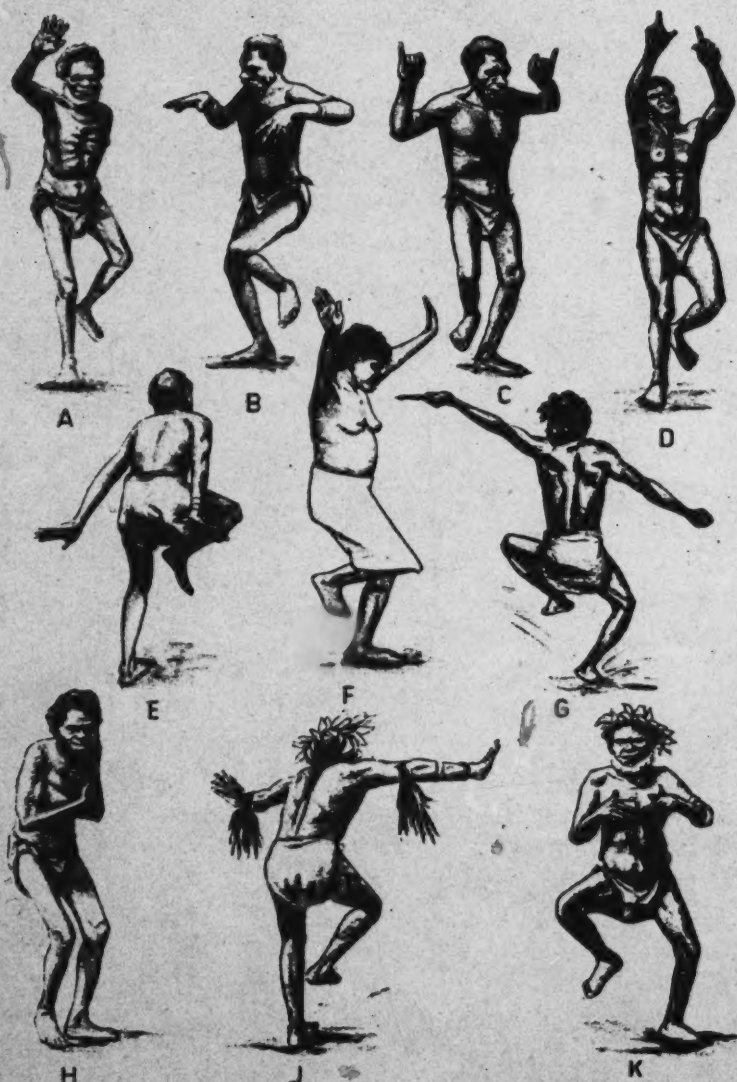


PLATE 30. Totemic Dances

A, Moon; B, Rain; C, Flying Fox; D, Wild Honey; E, Crocodile; F, Amburu;
G, Shark; H, Skinny Fish; J, Sea-eagle; K, Ningau.

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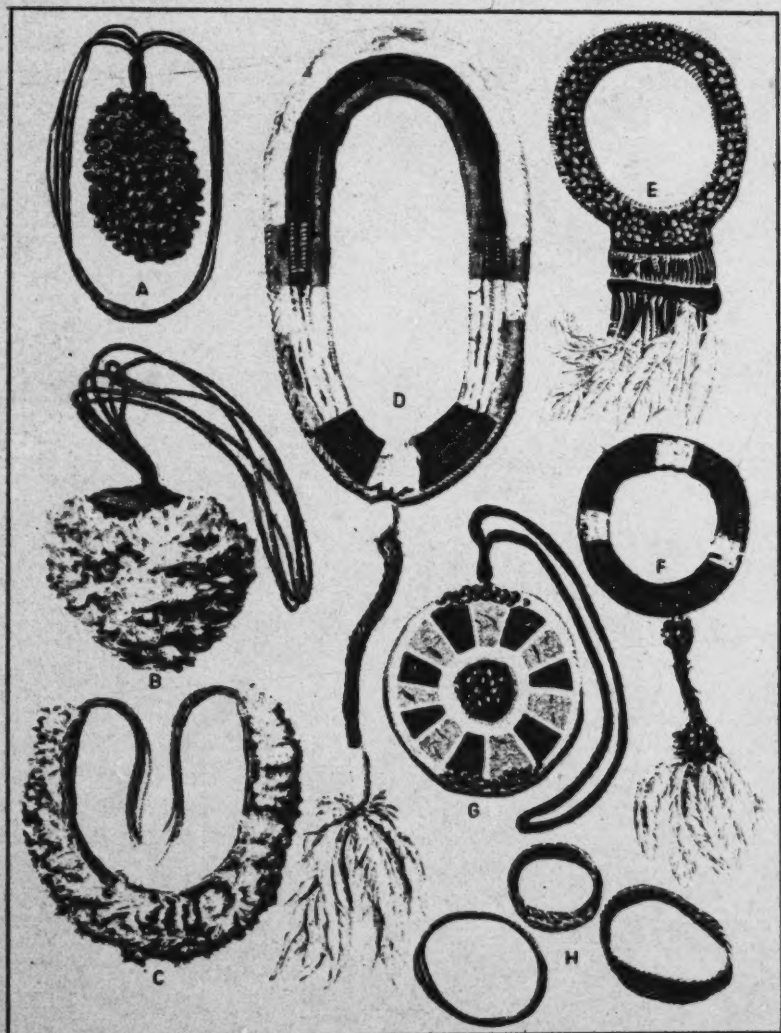


PLATE 31. *Ceremonial Decorations*

A, D, G, Chest Ornaments, Pukabinda; B, Goose-feather Ball, Tokwianga; C, False Beard, Baludi; E, F, Arm Ornaments, Palmatjinas; H, Cane Arm Bands, Jairinis.

[P. 88 C]

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2. THE CEREMONIAL OBJECTS OF THE TIWI

The ceremonial objects of the *pukamuni* ceremony, like the carved and painted burial poles and elaborate facial and body decorations already described, are totally unlike those used by the mainland aborigines.

A series of objects obtained on the 1954 expedition is illustrated on Pls. 31, 32.⁸⁸

On Pl. 31, A, D, and G, are chest ornaments called *putabinda*, which are suspended around the neck with a loop of human hair string. Fig. A is an oval ball of the soft wax of the native bee, into which has been pressed a large number of the red and black seeds of a jungle vine. Fig. D, made of several ovals of lawyer vine, is bound together with strips of the same material. The pendant is made of human hair and white cockatoo feathers. The oval opening is too small to pass over the head, therefore this ornament, and similar examples which I saw, were suspended around the neck with string. Fig. G is a flat disc like Fig. D, with lengths of lawyer vine bound together. This disc was coated with wax, and further decorated with red and black jungle seeds.

Pl. 31E and F are ornaments, *palmatinas*, decorated with red and black seeds, which are pushed up the arm over the elbow.⁸⁹ Both have been made in the same manner as Fig. D, G.

Pl. 31B is a goose-feather ball, *sokwianga*, worn around the neck or tied around the upper arm. *Wurabusi* (frontispiece) is wearing a *sokwianga*.

These ornaments are made by embedding ends of the downy feathers of the pied goose in a ball of wax. So much work was entailed in making a *sokwianga* that the aborigines were loth to part with them. The *sokwianga* is worn on all ceremonial occasions.

Pl. 31C is a false beard, *baludi*, which was worn at the *ilanias*, the final *pukamuni* (see frontispiece), and the *kulama* rituals. The *baludi* may be pure decoration, or it may replace the beard, which up until comparatively recently was plucked out at both the *pukamuni* and *kulama* rituals.

Fig. H illustrates three cane arm rings, *jairinis*, made from plaited lawyer vine. These were worn on the upper and lower arms of the *pukamuni* men and women, and occasionally by other performers, as decoration. At the end of the burial ceremony the performers take these rings from their arms and leave them on the grave as a present for the spirit of the dead.

⁸⁸ Spencer, 1928, Pl. XII, Figs. 450-4, illustrates a number of *pukamuni* ornaments he collected in 1911.

⁸⁹ Several of the men illustrated on Pl. 26a, are wearing these arm ornaments.

765 Pl. 32 illustrates a number of objects used in the *pukamuni* and *kulama*
778 rituals.

[411] Pl. 32A, B, are two of the beautifully carved ceremonial spears known
[531] respectively as the male *pukamuni* spear, *tunkaranga*, and the female spear,
tunkaguni. These are made purely as a gift to the dead, they appear to have no
other function.

[114] At the time of Spencer's visit to Melville Island during 1911, the aborigines
[322] told him that these spears were cut with cockle shells. During 1920 a Melville
[412] Island man in Darwin gave me the same information, adding that the making
of a double-sided female spear, 32B, with shell tools occupied an old man
about three months, and the single-sided male spear, 32A, about two.

Pl. 32C is the forked throwing stick, *miwanaa*, with which *Tjapara*, the
moon-man injured *Purukupali*, and 32D, the plain throwing stick, *muruguna*. These are used in the *kulama* and *pukamuni* rituals, as well as for hunting and in personal quarrels.

[302] Pl. 32E, G, are two interesting tools called *poras*, used for printing lines
[413] of dots on the bodies of the men and women. The colour is crushed to a thin
paste, spread on a flat rock, and the *poras* rocked backward and forward in
the paint to load the *poras*. The *poras* is then rocked on the body printing a
line of dots.²²

[515] Pl. 32F is a curious ceremonial scratching stick used by the *Kilipaniisi*
[413] *kulama* initiate to scratch himself during the period when he is not allowed
to do so with his hands.

Pl. 32H, J, are two burial poles, *tudinis*, which were erected on the grave.
These will be described in Section 10.

9. THE MESSAGE STICKS

202 Message sticks, under the general name of *purunkias*, are used by the Tiwi
765 for several purposes; personal requests to fellow tribesmen asking for presents or supplies (Fig. 52); invitations to other groups to perform ceremonies (Fig. 57, C, H), and in association with the *pukamuni* rituals.

When the ceremonial leader appointed the "workers" to cut the poles (p. 74), he also sent messengers carrying specially carved sticks (*purunkias*) to each totemic group on Melville and Bathurst Islands, telling them when the final *pukamuni* rituals were about to start.

● [301] As each messenger neared his destination he painted himself entirely in
[302] white and donned his goose-feather ball, *sokwanga*, his chest ornaments,

²² The lines of dots on *Wurukuti* (frontispiece) were made with a *poras*.

202 *palmajina*, and cane armlets, *jairinis*. Then, taking a female *pukamuni* spear,
765 *suntaguni*, in his hand he seated himself within sight of the camp.

[301] The local aborigines went out to welcome him, but on seeing the message
[302] stick and hearing the news, they mourned hysterically, cutting their heads
[785] and beating themselves with sticks.

When the mourning died down, the aborigines gave the messenger a meal,
[574] after which he returned to his own camp.

Although the general distribution of the totemic *purunkita* has been dis-
[126] continued in recent years, the aborigines who knew them well, made nine
[184] examples for me. It would seem that each totemic place had its own particular
[794] design, for when I showed the *purunkita* (Fig. 7D) to old *Tjamalampua* and
Malumerinita, neither of whom had seen it previously, they recognized it
immediately as a message stick which would have been sent to the *Mudung-
kala* totemic group of Buchanan Island, at the southern entrance to Apsley
Straits. However, other *purunkitas*, i.e. (Fig. 3C; Fig. 3F, G, H; and Fig.
6A, E) are still being used in the *pukamuni* rituals.

During the early days of our stay, when the *ilanias* of *Waniamperi's*
pukamuni were about to start, three men, two of them, *Marawani* and
Uramajina, being the chief mourners, made a journey to the Bathurst Island
people for the purpose of giving them a *purunkita* and telling them the news.

A few days later a Bathurst Island man returned with the message stick,
Fig. 3F, G, H, and verbal instructions relating to the forthcoming burial rituals.

Although I did not see the message stick which *Marawani* and his com-
[126] panions carried to Bathurst Island, I was able to make a rubbing of another
(Fig. 7C), which was sent to the same locality on the death of *Pulanimburi's*
wife.

Later, old *Tjamalampua* sent another message stick (Fig. 7A, B), to the
men of the *Mudungkala* totem of Buchanan Island, asking for European
goods and food to pay the "workers" at the final rituals of *Waniamperi's*
pukamuni.

Notification of Death

202 The designs on message stick, Fig. 7C, which an aboriginal carried to the
211 Bathurst Island people, together with the news of the death of *Nulasini*, did
x532 not, in any way, refer to the message that accompanied it, but to topographi-
cal details along the motor road between Snake Bay and Cockle Point on
Apsley Straits.

The upper section, *d*, is the aboriginal camp at Snake Bay, and the indenta-
tions, *a*, *a*, are the rocks on its shores. The cross-hatched rectangle in the

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The designs on sections *d* and *f* also relate to the goanna. The small white discs on *d* are goanna holes; the cross-hatched diamonds, its skin patterns, and the dots, its eggs. The triangles on *f* are the ribs, and the dots, the fat of the same creature. White and red bands on *e*, symbolize waves breaking on the beach. 532^x
765

The shapes of Pl. 360 are: *a* is white cloud; the rectangular opening *a*, a door, and the thinner section *f*, a post of a house. Section *d* is a large boulder, and *g*, *h*, the trunks of a fan palm.

The painted, cross-hatched bands, *b*, on section *e*, indicate goanna fat; the alternate bands, *c*, *c*, etc., are rocks on the shore, and the central white disc on *d* is the light from an electric torch. The vertical lines radiating from this disc are aboriginal paths; the horizontal bands are adjacent mangrove creeks, and the cross-hatched rectangles, discarded fish-bones on its banks.

The circles at *g* are rocks in the sea, and the white lines represent rope used for catching turtles. The dots on the background symbolize turtle eggs in the sand. The vertical bands on *h* are mangrove creeks, and the cross-hatched areas, body scars on the backs and arms of old men and women.⁹

The two projections at *a* on Pl. 368, are the front flippers of a turtle, the opening, *c*, is a window, and *d*, a door. The lower section is a European house.

The cross-hatching at *e*, *e*, represents the marks on the handles of throwing sticks (Pl. 320); the transverse bands, *f*, and the vertical bands, *g*, *g*, aboriginal tracks in the forest, and the dots, stars in the sky.

The upper projections at *a* (Pl. 370), are the branches of trees, the rectangular opening below is a doorway, the two cylindrical sections, *h*, *h*, are rocks on the coast, and the design, *j*, is a stingray.

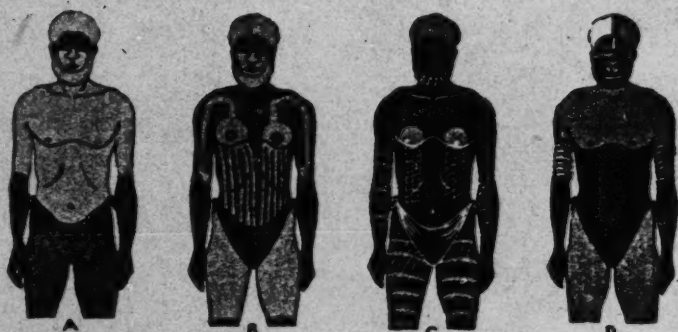
The painted designs refer almost exclusively to the decorations used at a *pukamuni* ceremony. The chevron bands at *b* and *c* on the upper projections, *a*, are coloured cane, and plain, feathered *pukamuni* arm ornaments respectively (Pl. 318, *r*). Painted designs at *f*, *f*, are arm ornaments similar to those at *h*, *c*. The plain band, *g*, however, represents chest ornaments (Pl. 310, *o*). The circles at *d*, *d*, are *pukamuni* cane armlets, and the cross-hatched rectangles and panels *h*, *h*, *h*, the chevron body scars of the performers. [301] •

(b) *The Pukamuni of Makapini*

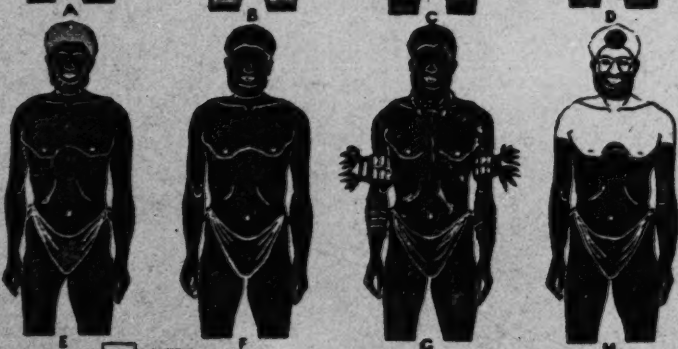
As in the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi*, the poles of *Makapini* were looked upon as a family; Pl. 348, the mother; Pl. 344, an adolescent daughter,

⁹ Unell recently, both men and women were decorated with elaborate series of chevron scars on the arms, legs and back (Pl. 394). This practice has been discontinued. [304]

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981



[301]



WHITE
YELLOW
RED
BLACK

[301]

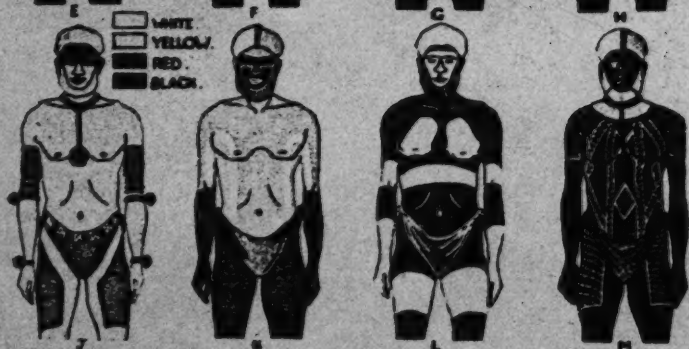


PLATE 42. Body Decorations of the Kulama Initiation
A, B, C, D, E, F, Marukumami; G, Kilipaniasi; H, Wadjeniasi; J, K, Mikinatrima;
I, Kulama Design; L, Mikinatrima, Mikintara and Mikingala.

56/
881

Grades of Kulama initiation		Period of initiation
Mikinatrina	Male	2 years
Mikinarrininga	Female	
Mikintara	Male	From one kulama until the next
Mikintaringa	Female	
Mikiatarima	Male	From one kulama until the next
Mikiatariminga	Female	
Mikingula	Male	Fully initiated for life
Mikingulinga	Female	

2. THE PRELIMINARY RITUALS OF THE KULAMA

881 (1) *The Capture of the Marukumuni Initiates*

According to my informants, any tribesman chosen for initiation, must be a mature man, usually married and with children. In fact, all the men pointed out to me as being suitable candidates were thirty years of age or older.¹⁸

The first time there is a gathering of people after a *kulama* ceremony, such as at a burial, or an *ilania*,¹⁹ the fully initiated *kulama* men, the *Mikingulas*, ask the permission of the leader of the *kulama*, the *Naripikilipi*, to capture any man or woman, who is suitable for the first stage of initiation, that of the *Marukumuni*.²⁰ In preparation for this, the *Mikingulas* have already mixed a quantity of yellow ochre.

At a given signal, one of the *Mikingulas*, who has been standing unobtrusively near, suddenly throws his arms around the chosen initiate. The captive struggles to release himself, protesting against being initiated into the *kulama*. But a number of the *Mikingulas* rush to their companion's aid, lay the struggling initiate on the ground, paint a design, in yellow, on his upper arms and body (Pl. 42A), and put the red tail feathers of a black cockatoo in his hair. Meanwhile, other initiated men are walking around the group

[302]
[301][178]
[114]

¹⁸ The age of initiation has been raised since Spencer and Fry saw the *kulama* in the early days of the century. Spencer (1928, p. 66f) refers to young boys, while Reuben Cooper, whom I knew in 1930 as a young man about twenty, would have only been about thirteen years of age when Fry saw him as a *Kilpanian*.

¹⁹ A preliminary ceremony for the burial rituals.

²⁰ I do not know who captures the female initiate, the *Marukumunga*.

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chanting *kulama* songs. Later, the decorated initiate, now called a *Marukumuni*, is taken to the camp of the man who captured him. It is the duty of this man, now his guardian, to provide the initiate with food. However, he must not be given snakes, for such food would cause his joints to swell and become painful. 881

The guardian takes the food he has collected to the *Marukumuni*'s wife who feeds her husband over a period of four days in the same manner as a *putumuni* man is fed (Pl. 24A). Neither she, nor any of the food he eats must touch the initiate's body. The food left over from the meal is wrapped in paper-bark and burnt. After four days this taboo is lifted and the *Marukumuni* is free to hunt for and eat all foods, except snakes.

(a) *The Eating of the Cycad Fruit*

About August, when the fruit of the cycad (*Cycas media*) is ripe, the *Marukumuni* is decorated with a new design (Pl. 42B). At the same time the leader of the *kulama* ceremony instructs the women of the camp to collect and prepare a considerable quantity of the cycad fruit. As the fruit in its raw state is highly poisonous, it has to be shelled, pounded out flat, and soaked in running water for three days before it is edible. When the fruit is ready for eating, the women, putting it in a number of bark baskets, stand them on either side of a log (Pl. 43D). [302] [252]

Then, while the women walk around the baskets, chanting the songs of the *kulama*, two *Mikingulas* wash the design (Pl. 42B), from the *Marukumuni*'s body, and decorate him with a new one (Pl. 43C). This, he must renew continuously until he hears the first sounds of thunder (about mid-November). [533] [302]

As soon as these decorations are completed a member of each family picks up a basket, takes it to their camp, and all have a meal.

The *Marukumuni* initiate, however, is fed by his wife from a separate store of cycad fruit.

At the same time as the *kulama* leader sent the women of the camp to collect and prepare the cycad fruit for the *Marukumuni* rituals, he instructed the women of the *Kilipanatingsa* grade to do the same. However, when the other women of the camp placed their baskets of prepared food beside the log, the *Kilipanatingsa* women poured their cycad fruit on a nearby pad of grass, pushed four sticks into the ground around the heap and seated themselves on the outside.

The ceremonial activity then centred around the men and women of the *Kilipanatingsa* grade of initiation, who, from the previous *kulama* until then, 301 891

[38] had worn continuously their curious ornaments, *mariguani* (Pl. 430),²¹
 [301] around their necks as well as many cane and bark ornaments on their arms. During the whole of that period (about five months) they renewed their body paint continuously. They were not allowed, however, to scratch their heads with their hands, but must use for that purpose a special pointed stick, *murukunga* (Pl. 317).

The rituals began when one of the *Mikingular*, coming up behind the male
 [302] *Kilpaniani*, cut the *mariguani* from the neck of the initiate, poured water over him to remove his body paint, and decorated him with the design of a *Wadjeniani* (Pl. 421). Similarly, the husband of the female initiate cut her neck ornament, washed her and redecorated her as a *Wadjeniatunga*. After eating their store of cycad fruit, these new initiates resumed the normal life of the tribe.

About mid-November, thunder and other signs of the oncoming wet season are signals for the *Marukumuni* to discard the design he has been wearing since the ceremonial eating of the cycad fruit. As soon as this happens the men paint another design on his body (Pl. 423), put new cockatoo
 [301] feathers in his hair, and many cane armlets on his arms. The initiate wears
 [302] these decorations, continuously renewing his body paint, until the ceremonial eating of the edible yam, which takes place at the beginning of the *kulama* ceremony about four months later.

3. THE KULAMA CEREMONY

(1) *Collecting and Eating the Edible Yams*

Toward the end of January, when the wet season was approaching its climax, the *kulama* leader instructed the women to go into the jungle, locate a number
 [262] of the young plants of two species of edible yams, a long one, *juruguni*, and a short one, *karawani* and show them to him so that he would know when they would be ready to eat.

When some weeks later, the leader estimated that the yams were fit for digging and the tall, annual grass was about to shed its seed, he called the people together and told them that the *kulama* rituals would start in a few days.²²

²¹ Spencer, 1928, Pl. ix, No. 4, illustrates a *mariguani*.

[334] ²² From the time of this announcement until the finish of the *kulama* ceremony, no fully initiated man, must sleep with his wife. If he does, he will be attacked by *tsind*, the mysterious *kulama* sickness, and die. I did not find out the characteristics of the *kulama* sickness.

(8) *Cutting up the Yams*

881 After the yams had been in the oven for about one and a half hours, the
 252 men gathered around the oven, felt it, and, after a short discussion began to
 scrape the warm sand away from the paper-bark covering. As they did so,
 they pressed handfuls of the warm sand against their elbows, chest, shoulders
 and knees, believing that this sand made their joints strong and supple
 (Pl. 41c).

881 When the paper-bark, carefully removed strip by strip, exposed the
 cooked yams, the women, who had been quietly standing on the outside of
 the *milimika* murmured reverently, "Ah, *kulama*, ah, *kulama*." Taking the
 hot yams from the oven each man held them against his chest, and his
 [827] head. This they said would give them added strength and vitality. The
 women although they did not participate in this ritual, sent their children
 into the *milimika* to have the yams pressed against their bodies so that they
 would grow to healthy and strong adults.

[177] As the men peeled the yams, exposing the soft, yellow flesh, they sang
 [533] about preparing and eating various kinds of food belonging to the white
 man,⁸⁸ "cutting bread for a meal, carving steak from a bullock and roasting
 it on the coals, cooking the tongue of a bullock, eating corn beef", and so on.
 When all the yams were peeled they were left on a sheet of bark whilst
 [412] everyone had a meal and a sleep. In the late afternoon the *kulama* men started
 [177] to slice the yams (cockle shells, *irakapi*, were used before the advent of steel).
 As they did so, the men mashed up some of the sliced *kulama* between the
 palms of the hands, mixed this with red ochre, and each rubbed it on his hair,
 face, whiskers and body. This, they believed, aided by the earlier rituals,
 would ensure them good health until the next *kulama*.

(9) *Initiation of the Kilipaniasis and Mikinatrinias*

The sliced yams were put in the basket, and stood in the centre of the
milimika. A *kulama* man walked into the forest, and collected a length of
 flexible vine. Returning to the *milimika* he bent the vine round the necks of
 the male *Marukumunis* and the female *Marukumuningas* in such a way that
 it could not be removed. These initiates were then *Kilipaniasis* and *Kilipan-*
 [301] *iasingas* respectively. This neck ornament, which had a number of cords
 hanging from it, is called a *mariguani* (Pl. 430). After these initiates had been
 further decorated with bark armlets, *gungutis*⁸⁹ (Pl. 430 and 0), and cane

⁸⁸ No doubt, in times past, they sang about abundant supplies of their own favourite
 foods.

⁸⁹ Spencer, 1922, illustrates the bark armlets, *gungutis*, on Pl. XI and the belt, *adurini*,
 on Pl. IX, No. 1.

THE KULAMA CEREMONY

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arm rings, *jairinas* (Pl. 311), they seated themselves outside the *milimika*,⁸⁸¹
but took no part in the subsequent rituals. [301]

Other fully initiated men led initiates of the *Wadjenisi* grade to the *wuringkus* tree, where the yams had been stored on the second morning, told them to sit down and erected a low screen of boughs in front so that the initiates could not be seen from the *milimika*.

The *Mikingulas* first painted the bodies of the *Wadjenisi* initiates with yellow paint, then decorated them with many cane rings, *jairinas* (Pl. 311), on their upper arms, hair-string belts, *ularimi*, around their waists and goose-feather balls, *sakwiangas* (Pl. 313), on their necks, arms and wrists (see Pl. 433). This ritual admitted them to the grade of *Mikinatrina* and *Mikinatrinings* respectively.⁸⁸¹
[302]

After the *Wadjenisi* initiates were decorated, the senior grades of the *kulama* painted their faces, bodies, hair and beards with elaborate designs in red, yellow, black and white. In one design, peculiar to the *kulama*, the aborigines covered one side of their faces with red paint, and the other side with black,⁸⁹ the two colours being separated with a line of yellow (Pl. 434). The men painted a complex design, usually in red and white on their hair and beards.⁹⁰ Some of the men also decorated their children.

The leader of the *kulama* then assembled everyone to see the *Mikinatrina*⁵³⁵ initiates perform their first dance, which they had been quietly practising for⁸⁸¹ some time.

At a given signal, each *Mikinatrina* stood up in turn and, gaily decorated with body paint and coloured ceremonial ornaments, and holding a flat fighting club, *juruwila*, in either hand, performed his first dance. As each initiate danced, the assembled people applauded, slapping their buttocks in [201]
approbation of both the dancing and the appearance of the initiates.

When the *Mikinatrinings* had finished their dance, the female initiates, the *Mikinatrinings*, similarly decorated, but without the clubs, individually performed their dances. Still painted and wearing their decorations, the male and female *Mikinatrinings* seated themselves outside of the *milimika* beside the newly created *Kilipanatis*.

After the initiates had finished their dances, several of the *Mikingulas* entered the *milimika* and chanted another series of secular songs. [533]

⁸⁸ Spencer, 1932, p. 674, who saw a *kulama* ceremony during 1911, refers to this curious form of facial decoration.

⁸⁹ The method of colouring the hair with intricate designs is of some interest. The aboriginal, loading his fingers and thumb with wet ground-up ochre, pinched the hair, instead of rubbing the colour into it. By this means, the operator was able to keep sharp well-defined edges to the design, an effect that could not be achieved in any other way.

NOTES ON THE
Natives of Bathurst Island, North Australia.

297

Personal Decoration.

Plaited armlets of vegetable fibre are worn on both arms, by both sexes, young and old. They are made of a number of central spiral turns of fibre, around which a single outer layer of flexible vegetable ribbon is plaited from either side and through the centre. The armlet is usually painted over with yellow ochre and is worn above the elbow. 301
 [531]

Corroboree-armlets are constructed in the shape of a flat ring of plaited vegetable fibre, from 10 to 20 centimetres in outside diameter (*vide* Plate XV, Figs. 4 and 6). The ring, which is from 2 to 3 centimetres wide and from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ centimetre thick, is neatly coloured on the outside with ochre in a regular fashion. From a point on the circumference depends a bundle of from seven to fifteen twisted strings of animal or human hair, 30 centimetres long, which ends in a flat oval mass of beeswax, studded on the outside with red seeds of the "gequirity" or so-called "Northern Territory bean" (*Abrus praccatorius*). A similar mass of beeswax and beans surrounds the point of attachment of this tassel.

Special corroboree arm-decorations¹ are constructed on rather more elaborate lines. A piece of bark (*Eucalyptus* sp.), about 66 centimetres long and 10 broad, is bent once upon itself into a simple loop and the open end kept together by stitching the edges for a distance of some 12 centimetres down (*vide* Plate VII, Figs. 2 and 4). The united end is fenestrated; one oblong space (measuring 6 by 2 centimetres) is cut out some 3 centimetres from the top, and beneath this, at a similar distance from its lower edge, two squares, whose sides are equivalent in length to the smaller side of the oblong. The top end of the united portion, and the top and bottom edges of the oblong and squares, are hemmed with an overlapping crossstitch. One side edge only of the loop is hemmed with a simple backward and forward "run-on" stitch. The lateral edges of the windows and the septum between the lower squares are fixed by transverse winding. The material used for hemming and winding is a light cane obtained from a creeping plant. It is evident that the different methods of stitching have to do with the fibrous structure of the bark; the cross-thread would tend to keep the stitches from pulling out along the fibres, as would be the case in straight up-and-down stitching. Additional complexity is given the ornament by eight thin sticks (about 15 centimetres long) which are pointed at both ends. One of these is stuck vertically into the bark at either end of the top edge. Two others pierce the bark at right angles, immediately below the lower outer corner of each square window; one of them being just below that corner of each of the squares, respectively. At either end of these transverse pieces, another stick is fixed vertically by binding with vegetable string, at about 3 centimetres from the ends. The ornament is coloured on the outside with red and white earth-paints. The ground colour of the upper half is red; the hem stitches and the affixed sticks are white. The lower half, or looped portion, bears four white transverse bands. 301
 322
 301
 531

¹ Apparently also used during mourning ceremonies.

301 bordered with red. Each of the intervening spaces is again sub-divided into two
531 squares at the centre (and a "half-square" at the sides) by three vertical, white lines
bordered with red. The squares and "half-squares" are shaded diagonally with
from four to six lines passing downwards and away from the central line in the
topmost group, and upwards and away from the centre in the two lower groups of
[171] squares. The combined effect resembles the windmill or "wanningi" pattern
common throughout Australia. The shading is all in white on one side, but red
and white in alternate squares on the opposite side.

301 In another type of this arm decoration, which is also made of bark, the upper
322 united portion is shorter than in the previous case (*vide* Plate VII, Figs. 1 and 5).
The top edge is concave and only one oblong window is cut beneath it. The sides
have been united by hom-stitching and by the insertion of a few wooden
pins which answer the same purpose as rivets. The edges are thickly plastered
with beeswax. As in the previous case, the stitches (and the plaster also) are
continued only along one side of the loop. A fairly stout rod of wood projects
vertically from either end of the top concave edge. Shorter rods project laterally
from either top corner of the loop. To the end of each of these rods a plume of
white is attached with beeswax. Cockatoo feathers have been chosen and they are
[237] fastened by their distal ends so that the fluffy portions are exposed. A number of
531 twisted strands of fur and vegetable fibre pass from the extremity of one horizontal
rod diagonally upwards to the base of the vertical rod above, along it to the top,
thence horizontally across to the top of the other vertical rod, whence it is continued
the same way down the other side to the extremity of the opposite horizontal
rod. Beeswax retains these strands in position at the rod-tops, while more strands,
wound horizontally from the base of one vertical rod to the other, and also round
the base of each, make the former strands secure there. The painted design in this
301 case consists of one large cruciform figure on either side of the looped portion, the
531 arms being modified at the base in a manner suggestive of a snake design. One
arm of the cross is white, the other yellow, both being bordered with red. The
intervening spaces are shaded red and yellow, the constituent lines being parallel
and straight up-and-down in the upper segment and crossed in the lower.

532 *Corroboree-mask*.—An interesting object is what I take to be a corroboree-
mask (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 5). As I did not see it in use and did not receive the
specimen until it was too late to make inquiries, I cannot, with certainty, describe
it as such. The object represents an oval structure, 15 centimetres long and
8 wide, which encloses two connected circular rims resembling a solid pair of
spectacles. The internal framework is made of split cane, bound together with
vegetable strands. The oval portion is covered with human hair string, wound
around it and knotted along the outer edge after the modern "button-hole-stitch"
fashion. The rims are broad and covered with beeswax. A circle of the red beans
of *Abrus precatorius*, embedded in the wax, surrounds the "eye-holes" on the front
side. At one of the lateral extremities, a band of five human hair strings emerges
from a cylindrical mass of beeswax and is surrounded, at 6 centimetres distance,

Notes on The

Natives of Bathurst Island, North Australia.

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The first plate reproduced contains a group composed of five imprints of the left hand of a native (Plate XIX, Fig. 1). The fingers are wide apart; the wrists of the two lowest hands seem very narrow in proportion, but that is due to the fact that they did not lie in close contact with the surface when the pigment was squirted against it. 531

In the lower corner on the right, of the reproduction stands a single-masted sailing craft, intended to represent a small European pearling or fishing-boat. The former class of boats have long been in the habit of passing through Apeley Strait on account of the shelter afforded and the chances of procuring fresh water close to the shores of either island. 532

Plate XIX, Fig. 2, is the lower continuation of the proceeding. The sailing craft just described is noticed on the right. Below it is the picture of a frog. Special features of this design are firstly the two circular lateral prominences on the head representing the large eyes and, secondly, the inaccuracy in regard to the number of toes. The smear on the left hind leg, resembling a caudal appendage, is accidental.

The fourth design (Plate XX) is that of a double-masted pearling-lugger¹ in full sail. The proportion and neatness of execution of these designs of sailing crafts are excellent indeed. The hull and sails of the latter figure are drawn in white pipe-clay and its masts in red ochre.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE VII.

Figs. 1 and 2. Front and side view of arm decoration, made of bark, coloured with ochre and ornamented with fur strings and cockatoo feathers. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 301
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Figs. 2 and 4. Front and side view of arm decoration, made of bark, coloured with ochre and ornamented with pointed sticks. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.

PLATE VIII.

Figs. 1 and 2. Water-carriers, made of paper-bark (*Melaleuca*). $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 415

Figs. 2, 4, 5 and 6. Food-carriers, made of bark; Figs. 5 and 6 with ochre drawings. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 531

PLATE IX.

Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4. Throwing-sticks and clubs. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 411

Fig. 5. A collection of spears from Bathurst Island. $\frac{1}{12}$ natural size. 531

by filling the mouth with charcoal powder if the device is to be black, if red with red ochre powder, damping the wall where the mark is to be left, and placing the palm of the hand against it, with fingers stretched out; the charcoal or ochre powder is then blown against the back of the hand; when it is withdrawn, it leaves the space occupied by the hand and fingers clean while the surrounding portions of the wall are all black or red, as the case may be." (Central Australian Natives.)

¹ Vide figure in *Report Government Geologist and Staff*, 1906, Adelaide, By authority, p. 14.

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HERBERT BASEDOW.—Notes on the NATIVES OF
BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA

PLATE X.

501 Fig. 1. "Fish-tail" bark canoes, Apsley Strait.

Fig. 2. "Fish-tail" bark canoes and "dug-out" canoe in the distance, Apsley Strait, Melville Island in the background.

PLATE XI.

Figs. 1 and 2. Bow and stern of "fish-tail" bark canoe. $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.Figs. 3 and 4. Balers made out of the melon shell. Fig. 3 shows the painted decoration of the outer surface; while in Fig. 4 it is seen how the columella of the shell has been removed with a sharp cutting instrument. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.

PLATE XII.

314 Fig. 1. Forest scene on Bathurst Island. From the stringy-barked eucalyptus on the left side of the picture, the bark has been removed for the purpose of making a canoe. Another tree, which has been similarly treated, is seen in the background, near the centre of the picture. In the foreground note a tall specimen of the samia-palm (*Cycas media*).
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137501 Fig. 2. Various types of paddles in use on Bathurst Island. About $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.

PLATE XIII.

764 Figs. 1 and 2. Distant and near view of a native grave, surrounded by five carved and painted posts, Bathurst Island. Note the cleared space and the position of grave, viz.: at the junction between open woodland and thicket. A tall Bathurst Islander is seen in Fig. 2.

PLATE XIV.

415 Fig. 1. A melon-shell (*Melo diadema*) used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.Fig. 2. A *Fusus pricei* used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.Figs. 3 and 4. Drinking cups made out of folded sheets of paper-bark (*Melaleuca*). $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.532 Figs. 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e. Painted and carved posts of native grave, shown in previous plate.
764 $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.

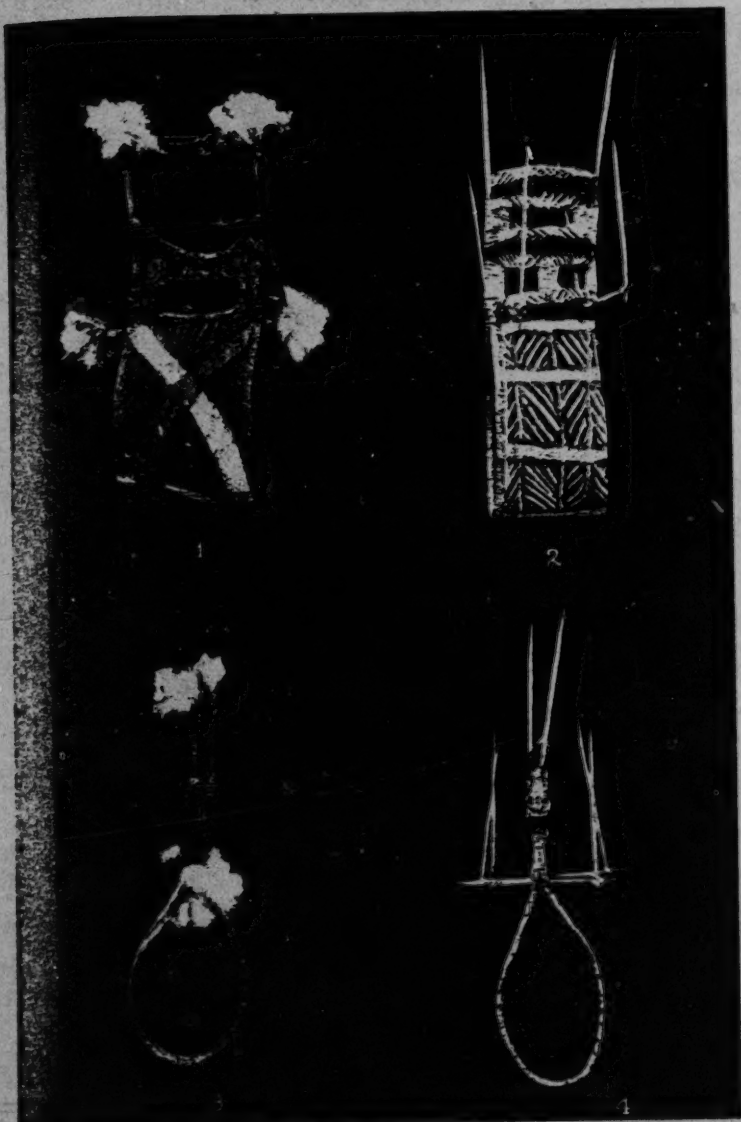
PLATE XV.

415 Fig. 1. A series of four shells of the *Cyrenus asingletonensis* which have been used for holding red, white and yellow earth-pigments to mix with water as required. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.317 Fig. 2. Lumps of yellow ochre (on the left), white pipe-clay (in the centre), and red ochre (on the right), used in the decoration of the grave posts shown in previous plate.
386 $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.413 Fig. 3. Primitive paint brushes made by macerating the ends of short pieces of the shoots of the climbing palm (*Calamus australis*). $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.301 Figs. 4 and 6. Special corroboree arm-rings. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.532 Fig. 5. A corroboree mask (?). $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.

PLATE XVI.

291 Figs. 1 and 2. Bathurst Island natives painting grave-posts. Note the cosmetic body-scars in imitation of the leaf of the samia palm (*Cycas media*).
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NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

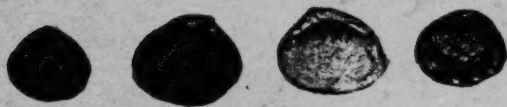
[END PLATE I]

[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE p. 321 - ANALYST]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XLIII, 1913, Plate XV.

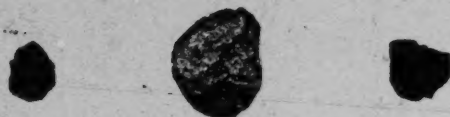
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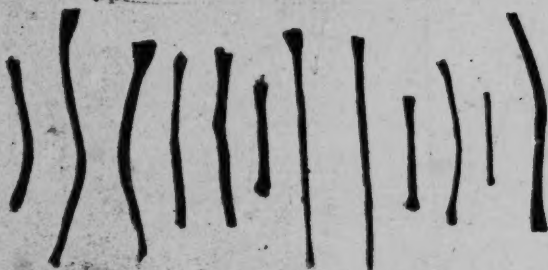
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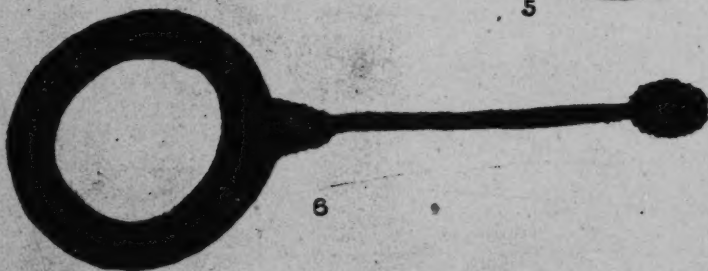
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NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 9]

[FOR EXPLANATION SEE P. 322 - ANALYST]

A Bathurst Island Initiation Rite.

Sir:

000 Not many white men can have had the experience of being tried by a native court. The following story may therefore be of interest.

114 I had visited a native camp in northern Bathurst Island in March 1913, and had made the acquaintance of an adolescent native boy called Cooper. He was smeared

881 from head to foot with red ochre and wore a
● [301] collar made of a thin piece of wood bent
[302] round his neck with the ends tied together with hair string behind with a strand of string about six inches long hanging down his back terminating in a blob of gum.

88) He was in the *holloponiati* stage of initiation grade and was forbidden in the camp. One

● [301] day in great secrecy he showed me some bark arm bracelets known as *tuguti*. A

[114] month later I was on a Malay lugger in the same region and some natives came out to the lugger in canoes. They told me that Cooper was to take the ceremony for his next degree that afternoon. I persuaded the master of the lugger to put me ashore on Papiau beach, opposite old Fort Dundas.

123 The natives were unwilling to take me with them at first, but finally consented. We walked inland for about four miles and met the main group, all painted for the ceremony. Cooper was said to be out in the mangroves, but came in shortly after about midday. He then went out again for a sugar bag. Having learned a few words of the language I attempted conversation. After a time I attempted to ask something about Cooper's *tuguti*. Immediately the cheerful group about me hushed and everyone seemed very concerned. They had gained the impression that I had stolen the *tuguti*. I tried to explain that I had only looked at them. About twenty of the men seated themselves in a circle and proceeded to discuss the problem. I overheard a few recognizable words at times, *ardjidiit waitamanna*, no good white men, *pallaa*, dead, *yergobai*, alligator. I was sitting meanwhile with my back to a pandanus facing a salt water inlet. An emissary from the circle visited me from time to time and questioned me anxiously about what I had done with the *tuguti*. One humourist came over several times, tapped me on the shoulder, and grinningly pointed to the water, saying *yergobai*. Suddenly the discussion stopped, everybody stood up, and cordial relations were resumed as if nothing had happened.

881 Cooper returned about 4 p.m. He washed and was smeared all over with red ochre

[343] except the upper part of the face. Mean-

726 One man will then take a step or two forward, hold up a hand, and stamp vigorously, and all the warriors of his side will copy his actions. "Let 'em all come!" is the attitude adopted. If the enemy does not start hostilities at once, they throw their spears down and jump about like wallabies to show their contempt for the sluggard's marksmanship. They are, however, careful not to get too far away from their own weapons, on which they pounce immediately the first spear is hurled by their opponents. The air is soon thick with flying spears and war-clubs, and the exchange goes on until some unlucky warrior is really hurt, when the engagement ceases.

727 BOTH sides gather round, howling their dismay, until repairs to the injured have been effected. A red-dyed ball of goose-down, which is hung from the neck by a string woven of human hair, is held before the mouth as a charm to divert the missiles, but the warriors owe their immunity from death or serious injury to their own remarkable eyesight and to the dexterity with which they evade, or turn to one side, the hurtling weapons of the enemy. The war-clubs used by the islanders are far more difficult to dodge than the spears, which come straight at you.

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A BAYHURST ISLANDER BRANDISHES HIS CLUB.

The war-club is merely a short, bent stick with a knob at one end; but, spinning in the air like a boomerang, it can be thrown for amazing distances by the islanders, considerably over a hundred yards, and not far off two hundred. This weapon is not thrown straight at an opponent, but at a waist, or a tuft of

[P. 17(A)]